1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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621 is the boundary of the territory over which the mother *desa* has the right of disposal. The *pĕdasans* of Sĕlat are not *banjars*, since they do not belong to the same worship group as the mother village. In fact the *adat* and the temple organization of each of the *pĕdasans* display important differences from those of the mother *desa* and of the other *pĕdasans*. Consequently the *pĕdasans* are quite consciously distinguished from the *banjars* (there are seven of those in the mother village), which also play a rôle in the internal organization of the *pĕdasans* themselves.

792 It is known from recent history that in broad outline a *pĕdasan* is
621 founded in the following way. (It should, however, be taken into
769 account that the data available all refer to one and the same part of Karangasĕm.) After several households from the mother village or from elsewhere have settled within the territory of the new *desa* with the permission of the mother village, a graveyard is laid out and its accompanying *pura dalĕm* is built. Then one or more clan temples are constructed, probably with the clan temple of the most important group eventually being expanded by including gods belonging to the more general system of worship. In this way there comes into being a navel temple for the group. Since, however, the land on which the *pĕdasan* is founded belongs to the mother village, and hence is under the protection of its gods, the new navel temple is called *pura panti* (or *pura pĕmaksan* or *pura pĕnataran:* the meaning of these terms will be returned to later). In many cases there is a clan temple within the walls of the *pura panti* which is venerated by only a part of the people of the *desa pĕdasan.*

792 In the daughter villages of Sĕlat the chief deity in the *pura panti*
776 is as a rule said to be a descendant of the *ratu gĕde pusĕh* of Sĕlat,
628 the god of Sĕlat's navel temple. In this way expression is given to the dependence on the deity whose power extends over the whole territory of the mother *desa.* In the *puras panti* of the Sĕlat *pĕdasans* Batara Sri is also always venerated, a fact pointing towards an originally agrarian character of the group founding the temples.

792 The presence of the so-called *patokan* also provides an indication of the nature of the *pura panti.* A *patokan* is in general use in Ka-

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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rangasĕm as a place of worship in the *banjar* compound, and serves to provide a place of contact with the nether-worldly deities, for whom the *banjar* community is the worship group. The *patokan*, consequently, is referred to as the altar of the ruler of the nether world, sometimes indicated more specifically as Batara Durga.

On the basis of these data the *pura panti* can be defined as a place of worship founded by a predominantly agrarian community which has taken the care for its religious and social interests upon itself. The worship of the gods of the upper world finds expression in the presence of the altars in the inner court of the temple; the forecourt, where the *patokan* and the *balé pĕmaksan* stand, has a significance approaching that of the *banjar* compound. In the same way that the *pura panti* can be considered as a *pura puséh* in development, the worship group of the *panti*, the *pĕmaksan*, can be viewed as a *desa* in embryonic state.

The territory belonging to the *panti* can be looked upon as constituting that of a separate *desa* as soon as the mother *desa* no longer exercises its territorial rights. These consist of the right of giving direction in certain matters of religion and of requiring religious levies. There are, for instance, certain offering ceremonies which the *pĕdasan* may not perform until the mother village has given the sign. Thus the *mĕlĕlasti* (the ritual washing of the gods in the sea) takes place under the guidance of Sĕlat, and the purification festival held once every decade can only be organized by the mother village, though the *pĕdasans* are required to contribute to its expenses. The unity of the territory is also expressed in various applications of ground magic. On the birth of a pair of twins of different sexes the whole territory of the mother *desa* is magically impure. The Nyĕpi ceremonial is observed at the same time and in the same way in the mother village and the *pĕdasans*. During certain offering festivals at Sĕlat the daughter villages are required to pay tribute by providing palm wine and *bantĕn pĕnyĕnĕng* and performing ceremonial dances. Moreover the daughter villages contribute to temple restorations in Sĕlat by means of levies in kind, and the mother village has the right to make requisitions if necessary.

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575 As was mentioned, the *pura panti* is sometimes called *pura pĕmak-*
778 *san* or *pura pĕnataran;* combinations of these terms such as *pura pĕmaksan panti* or *pura pĕnataran panti* also occur. *Pĕmaksan*, literally 'association', refers to the association of village founders, which will usually have been an association of farmers. Agrarian groups function as worship associations for special agrarian temples throughout the island. The most important of such agrarian sanctuaries are the *puras subak*, the irrigation-association temples, but there are also temples which have to do with dry-field farming: the so-called *puras pĕbiyanan* and *puras bĕnua*, to be found in Jĕmbrana and elsewhere. A well-known example of a temple for dry-field crops is Pura Maduwe Karang at Kubutambahan. Also named after the *pĕmaksan* founding the *pura panti* is the *bale pĕmaksan* in the forecourt of the temple, which can be considered as the prototype of the *bale agung* on the one hand, but also has in itself the possibility to develop into a *bale banjar*.

621 In the designation *pura pĕnataran* the accent falls on the consoli-
778 dated complex of dwelling compounds (*natah* or *karang*) comprising the hamlet. Caring for ground magic, for the ritual purity of the residential village, is one of the first tasks of a new settlement. It is in this context that Ratu Maduwe Karang, who as one of the chief gods has an altar in the inner court of every *pura bale agung* in the Kintamani area and who is the guardian of the residential village and the planted fields, is to be considered.

To return to Pura Pĕmayun: there is reason to believe that this temple has developed from a *pura panti*. For historical and geographical reasons, when the *banjar* was formed the veneration of this sanctuary lying within its territory became a task entrusted to it alone.

621 In keeping with this hypothesis is the fact that the designation
628 '*banjar* Tĕgal' suggests the founding of a hamlet amidst gardens
794 and dry fields. There are, however, striking differences from the *pĕdasans* of the *desa* of Sĕlat. In Sĕlat the development was such that the *pĕdasans* today are essentially complete *desas* which only have to recognize certain rights exercised by the mother *desa*, while the worship group of Pura Pĕmayun is in essence a *banjar*

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which forms part of the worship community of the *desa* of Bule-621
leng with regard to the three village temples. Also in the case of628
the *banjar* of Tĕgal, however, caring for ground magic is a matter794
concerning primarily the *desa* as a whole: it is the *desa* that takes
the lead in the Nyĕpi ceremonial.

There is no known tradition regarding the origin of Pura Pĕ-778
mayun, nor can more than a few indications be derived from the
names of the gods venerated. It is possible to establish a link with
the semi-historical, semi-legendary hero and ruler of Buleleng, I
Gusti Panji Sakti. The chief of the temple's attributes, a sacred
creese, is said to derive from him. Furthermore it is required that
on placing objects of any magical significance in the bases or cor-
nices of temple structures after restorations a descendant of Panji
Sakti must be present to perform the symbolic act. (This is, in
fact, also true for other sanctuaries in the *banjar* of Tĕgal, even for
household and family temples.) The main altar, oriented towards
the east, is, moreover, dedicated to Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji, a
fact that points towards relations with the large *desa* of Panji lying
to the southwest.

The sources throw little light on the special nature of the relation
between Pura Pĕmayun and Panji Sakti. Panji Sakti's creese,
which serves as the palladium (*pĕjĕnĕngan*) of the temple, is kept
in a special building, a sort of safe in the form of a chapel standing
in the *pĕmangku*'s compound, and is brought to light to serve as a
temple attribute only on the anniversary of Pura Pĕmayun. A
pĕjĕnĕngan is an object of supernatural origin into which the deity
descends and resides, and from which he rules (*jĕnĕng*). It is at
the same time a sacral object providing legitimation for a temple
or a person. Hence Panji Sakti's creese serves to corroborate the
link with the temples in the *desa* of Panji.

Various royal families possess a *pĕjĕnĕngan* serving to demonstrate643
that their descent is legitimate and has been confirmed by the778
deity. In such cases the *pĕjĕnĕngan* comes to be a symbol of state.
Prominent families also sometimes have a *pĕjĕnĕngan*. Weapons are
by no means rare among the *pĕjĕnĕngans* belonging to the temples.
More frequent, however, are other objects such as statues, coins,

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Chapter Five

The Desa in its Relation to Other Legal Communities

628 631 Let us in closing consider the ties between Tĕnganan and the royal authorities of Karangasĕm on the one hand, and on the other those between Tĕnganan and other villages.

It is clear from various stipulations in the *desa* constitution (which, as was seen above, is a record of what could be remembered of the old charter destroyed by fire) that the ruler who drafted the original charter had the aim of making Tĕnganan a *pĕrdikan desa*. When I inquired of Anak Agung Agung Bagus Jĕlantik, the head of the former ruling family of Karangasĕm, why Tĕnganan enjoyed such a large degree of autonomy, and why after the fire the people of the village went to Klungkung to request a new constitution, he was unable to give an explanation: Tĕnganan had been left to its own devices even in early times. Nor do the people of the *desa* itself know why it occupies such an exceptional position among the villages of Karangasĕm, though the views of the villagers as to their relation to Karangasĕm and to the whole of Bali show that historical developments have played a rôle.

According to Tĕngananese tradition, the ruler of Bedahulu made Tĕnganan a *pĕrdikan desa* and granted it a charter. Now the successor to Bedahulu is the *dewa agung* of Klungkung, and the ruler of Karangasĕm is no more than his viceroy; hence the Tĕngananese consider only what the *dewa agung* has ordained to be valid for their *desa*, and the boundaries of the various principalities have little significance for them: above the village level they recognize only the whole of Bali.

How much alive these views still are became clear to me during a session of the Karangasĕm council at which discussion was devoted to the proposal of the Netherlands East Indies authorities

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to create councils in each region of Bali, plus an all-Bali council above them. Acceptance of the proposal would mean that the existing Karangasĕm council had to give up various powers, and not only Anak Agung Agung seriously objected to this, but also all but one of the council members. That one was the Tĕngananese I Nĕngah Tanggu, who declared himself in favour of the proposal for two reasons. "We are all Balinese", he declared, "no matter where we live, and so it is logical for Balinese affairs to be handled by an all-Bali council." And moreover: "We must have confidence in the government at Batavia, which is certainly of good will in regard to the Balinese." Anak Agung Agung Jĕlantik labelled this the answer that might be expected from the *Bali-aga*.

In earlier times the *desa* of Tĕnganan was even more independent of the royal administration than it is today. No services were rendered and no taxes were paid, either in money or in kind. Each year the *desa* presented the ruler a tributary gift in lieu of meeting royal rights such as the claim to property of people dying without children, the usual fees on weddings, and land taxes, and each year a fifth of that gift was returned to the *desa* as a sign that the relationship between the ruler and the village was to continue in the same way.

The war with Sibĕtan cost Tĕnganan a part of its independence. According to the Tĕngananese, this war took place roughly two hundred years ago, and the dating must be more or less accurate, for the *Kaki Wayan Karangasĕm mur ring Juring* of Tĕnganan tradition can, I believe, be identified as the second Balinese prince to hold sway over Karangasĕm and Lombok. This ruler came to the aid of Tĕnganan against its highly remarkable neighbouring *desa* Sibĕtan, but his assistance had to be rewarded by the cession of several *sawahs* (which are still the property of Anak Agung Agung of Karangasĕm and certain private individuals), by the introduction of a *pajĕg* levy for part of the Tĕngananese *sawahs*, and by soccage service to the court. Desiring to protect Tĕnganan against Sibĕtan for all time, Kaki Wayan of Karangasĕm also ordered the creation of a frontier guard of a few families from

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175 Tĕnganan, to whom the *desa* was required to grant all the *sawahs*
628 in the irrigation district Yeh Sayan on a permanent share-crop basis. This frontier community has become Kĕstala, where since then persons of the *desa* who could not be allowed to remain in the *banjar* of Pande have been banished.

In this connection it should be pointed out that according to a report from Controleur Buys Ballot the *pajĕg sawahs* in Naga Sungsang came into being in the following way: two worthies of Karangasĕm, Gusti Kĕtut Mumbul and Gusti Wayan Karang, gave permission to the Tĕngananese I Rana and I Mandra to convert their *tĕgalan* lands into *sawahs* (an act prohibited by *adat*), with the proviso that for the first five years after conversion the full yield was to go to the two *gustis*, and thenceforth two-thirds of it. Later a controversy developed between the descendants of the two Tĕngananese and those of the two *gustis* regarding the exorbitant *pajĕg*, and the ruler took over the *pajĕg* levy and reduced it to one-tenth of the yield.

643 The ruler kept a part of the *pajĕg* rights in his own hands, and
651 passed on a part to court favourites as apanage rights; the latter
628 sort of levy was known as *pajĕg pĕnirian*. He also sold a part of his rights to the *desa* of Tĕnganan, which has continued to collect the *pajĕg* from the *sawah* holders. Some irrigation districts were not subject to the *pajĕg*, and all dry fields were exempt. The *pajĕg* was set once and for all for each irrigation district, and new *sawahs* were *pajĕg*-free. Why certain irrigation districts, namely Yeh Buah, Yeh Singa, and Babitunu, had been exempted from *pajĕg* the Tĕngananese were unable to say, though regarding Yeh Singa it was suggested that the reason may have been that the district did not contain any *sawahs* belonging to the *desa*.

The *pajĕg* was not heavy: for the eleven irrigation districts subject to it, it amounted to a total of roughly 960 imperial hundredweights of paddy, 133 of which were *pajĕg pĕnirian*. Expressed in present-day terms, the total value of the whole *pajĕg* would amount to roughly two hundred forty pounds sterling.

The ruler permitted a reduction in *pajĕg* in case of crop failure; whether such a reduction would be allowed was determined when

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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the grain was ripe in the field. The *desa* collected the *pajĕg* and had the paddy threshed, then had it transported to Karangasĕm in the form of husked rice. A sum of sixty doits in cash was also paid with the *pajĕg;* this sum was not accepted until the *pajĕg* had been delivered in full, and was considered as a token indicating that the *pajĕg* had been paid.

Until 1912 this *pajĕg* continued to be paid to the head of the region of Karangasĕm. This is peculiar, for long before that all the revenues which the regional head had earlier collected from the people on the basis of his royal power had been converted into a liberal fixed income paid out of the regional treasury. Apparently the former regional head, Gusti Gĕde Jĕlantik, had regarded this *pajĕg* as a private source of income. That attitude cost the *desa* of Tĕnganan a great deal of money, for in 1912 a *sawah*-tax regulation was introduced, and the new head of the region pointed out that then the Tĕngananese would have to pay double *pajĕg* on their *sawahs* – once to him and once to the regional treasury. He was prepared to waive his *pajĕg* right, though in return for a flat sum of 2,332,800 doits, and the *desa* agreed.

At the same time, however, the *desa*'s lands were made subject to *sawah* and garden taxes, but since a significant part of the land consisted of offering *sawahs*, a fair proportion was exempted from those taxes. The landrent office unfortunately followed a less supple line, exempting only a small number of *sawahs* as temple grounds. The landrent is nowadays collected by the *sĕkahas charik* and transferred to the *pĕnglurah*, who deposits the money with the *sĕdahan agung*, the head of the regional landrent office.

When the Tĕngananese were subjected to soccage service after the war with Sibĕtan, there was also a need for an organization of the persons required to render such service. This gave rise to the system of *tempeks* under the *klihans tempek*, who in turn fall under the jurisdiction of the royal functionary in Puri Kĕlodan at Karangasĕm. The *sangyangs* were exempted from soccage service.

Though under ordinary circumstances services for the ruler were fairly light, in times of war a great deal was demanded of the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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villagers, and the elderly people in Tĕnganan still refer with aversion to the expedition the ruler of Karangasĕm sent to the aid of Mĕngwi, which had been attacked by Badung and other realms. Military service was not restricted to the persons required to render soccage service: every able-bodied man in the village was called up. The boys, too, were given a task: that of bringing up provisions for the warriors. It hardly need be said that such military expeditions were little to the taste of the stay-at-home Tĕngananese, and there was a strong tendency to evade service. Provisions in the village constitution indicate, however, that the men who stayed behind will not have had too pleasant a time of it at home.

A more recent service incumbent on Tĕnganan is to be found in the regulation for the maintenance of the *pura pĕnataran* of Bukit, the southern gate and the *gaduh* of which temple fall under the care of Tĕnganan together with the *desas* of Sĕngkidu, Mĕndira, Bĕwitan, Apityeh, Sĕlumbung, and Ulakan.

When Karangasĕm came under the direct rule of the Netherlands East Indies authorities and services consequently were reorganized, the regional head appointed a *pĕrbĕkĕl* for Tĕnganan together with Pasĕdahan, Dauh Tukad, Bukit, and Gumung. (Strangely enough, Kĕstala was placed under Bĕbandĕm, and Pĕkarangan under Ngis.)

The Tĕngananese maintain lively contact with the area from which their ancestors came, Bedahulu (which sends several *mangkus* to attend certain festivities in the *bale agung* at Tĕnganan every Kalima), and with the Bratanese in Buleleng. The few data published on the latter group of *Bali-agas* unquestionably indicate a close relationship with the Tĕngananese. Van Bloemen Waanders states that the Bratanese may not farm or trade, that they have only one language, Low Balinese, that they bury their dead rather than cremating them, and that endogamy prevails among them, marriage of members of the two lowest of the four classes with women of the two highest classes originally having been prohibited (though that prohibition has since lost its validity as a result of the decline in population).[1]

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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The temple of Bĕsakih is considered by the Tĕngananese to be Bali's main sanctuary, and they often go there to fetch holy water, which is provided them by the *mangku gĕde*.

Relations with other villages have always been highly amicable, with a single exception when Sibĕtan invaded Tĕngananese territory some two centuries ago. The inhabitants of neighbouring villages often help to enliven Tĕngananese *adat* festivities. In particular the young people of Pasĕdahan are constantly in Tĕnganan during the month of Kalima, when they are allowed to make free use of the *desa* swings. The girls of Pasĕdahan, considered among the most beautiful on Bali, are in the swings day and night, letting the youths turn them round.

As a result of these friendly relations, when the *bale agung* in Tĕnganan caught fire in 1925 the people of the villages roundabout rushed to help, and the fire was quickly brought under control once the whole population of the large *desa* of Bugbug set itself to the task of tearing off the burning sugar-palm fibre from the roof.

Tĕnganan also enjoys the full cooperation of the neighbouring villages in juridical affairs, while it, in turn, often helps the villages around with irrigation water.

Religious ties are maintained with four villages, Ngis, Pĕkarangan, Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad, and Sibĕtan. In Kalima, the fifth month, the people of Tĕnganan, assisted by the village heads of Ngis, go collecting the *rampag* due from the latter village and Pĕkarangan. Pĕkarangan's *rampag* amounts to two hundred coconuts, and Ngis' to a thousand. On the ninth day of Kalima two persons from Ngis go to the *bale agung* at Tĕnganan to participate in the purification ceremony. They are treated to the feast, and are given rice and meat to take with them when they go back home in the evening. The people of Ngis also come to pray in the *pura puseh* in Tĕnganan, which was reputedly founded by Bĕgawan Enggong for both *desas*.[2] The people of Dauh Tukad, too, come to worship in various Tĕngananese temples. There is, moreover, a forest to the south of Ngis where the people of Tĕnganan may cut down trees for the *bale agung* and the *desa* temples.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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628 782 While Ngis and Pĕkarangan are in a certain tributary position towards Tĕnganan, the latter must itself pay a levy to Sibĕtan: namely, each year one *gĕringsing kain* with which to cover the offerings to the deity at Bangkah, accompanied by two hundred doits in cash.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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either approves or rejects the proposal, and there are no outbursts of artistic temperament.

The Balinese do not write down their music. I asked if it was not difficult to memorize such long and intricate compositions and was told that "when the piece has been rehearsed long

enough, so that it has once entered into a man's liver, he plays it without thinking."

Often the group was visited by the leaders of famous orchestras from other villages who were invited as guests of the community to teach new compositions. The leaders of the *gong* Ringdikit from North Bali came to Belaluan to exchange pieces: while they taught the dynamic and revolutionary style of the North, they learned the classical pieces of the South. The musicians of Belaluan, on the other hand, went to other villages to break in new organizations and were always lavishly entertained. Once in our village we witnessed a contest between two famous *gongs*;

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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the rival orchestras were installed at either end of a large shed specially built for the occasion. A great crowd surrounded them. In the middle sat an impressive jury made up of the local princes and *pungawas*. The orchestras in turn played their best compositions while the audience remained silent. At the end the jurors went into deliberation and awarded the decision to the rival *gamelan*, who had come all the way from the district of Tabanan.

Despite the fact that there is no trace of Occidental influence in the music of Bali, even those who hear it for the first time are carried away by it. Musicians who have gone to Bali have become ardent admirers of Balinese music. Walter Spies was the first to take an interest in it and to write transcriptions, Leopold Stokowski wanted to bring a Balinese orchestra to America, and Colin McPhee has spent years in Bali compiling material and writing down the music. However, the laws of Balinese music are different from those of the West. There is in Balinese music a unified range of sonorities tending towards one sound; with the exception of certain bamboo xylophones, an incidental bamboo flute, or a two-string violin, all of the instruments are metals struck with mallets; there is a general tone-colour of metallic percussions — tinkling, acid sonorities that can be clashing and violent or soft and delicate, but are never sweet and plaintive. Their musical phraseology is simpler, more confined within a margin of sobriety, than our expansive and unrestrained music.

The Balinese have developed their music to the point of having a special type of orchestra for every purpose, each differing from the others in sonority, in the instruments composing it, in the pieces played, and even in scale. (The Balinese scale, with certain exceptions, consists of five notes, named from low to high: *ding*, *dong*, *deng*, *dung*, *dang*, corresponding to our E, F, G, B, C.) The "concert" orchestra is entirely different from the one used for feasts, cremations, and processions. The same holds true for the music employed for the various styles of plays and dances; the orchestra for marionette shadow-plays is radically different from the one used for the dances of young girls, which

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

575 sons inheriting the fathers' memberships. Some of them build up quite sizeable treasuries and profits to divide among the members, some have yearly feasts of celebration, others even lend their earnings at interest.

[181] As seka loyalty is a major value in Balinese culture, these voluntary groups are not just peripheral organizations but a basic part of Balinese social life. Almost every Balinese belongs to three or four private seka of this sort, and the alliances formed in them balance off those formed in the more formally organized sectors of Balinese social structure in the complex cross-cutting social integration characteristic of the island. From one point of view, all of Balinese social organization can be seen as a set of formal and voluntary seka intersecting with one another in diverse ways.

7. Common legal subordination to a single government administrative official.
634 In addition to hamlet, irrigation society, and Kahyangan-Tiga temple organ-
631 ization, there is another sort of territorial unit at the rural level which stems
621 from the organization of the Indonesian governmental bureaucracy as it reaches down into the Balinese countryside. This is the *perbekelan*, so called because it is headed by an official called a *Perbekel*. Before the Revolution the Perbekel was appointed by his Colonial superiors; since it, he is elected by his constituency. He still serves until either he retires or a movement to unseat him develops. He is always a local man, in most cases set apart from his neighbors [554] only in having somewhat more education (although in line with the traditions of Balinese statecraft, higher titled people tend to be preferred for the role). He has under him anywhere from two to a half dozen *Pengliman*, also local men, also elected, each with his own bailiwick within the perbekelan. Both Perbekel and Pengliman are paid, but not very well, by the Government according to the number of kitchens in their domain. As it is through them that the policy directives, propaganda exhortations, and social welfare activities of the Djakarta political elite filter down to the mass of the peasantry and from them that reports on local conditions start back up, they form a kind of rural civil service, a miniature administrative bureaucracy constructed out of local elements.

As might be expected, the arbitrarily drawn boundaries of perbekelan do not, save in the odd case, coincide with any other unit in Balinese society, past or present; rather, they group from four to ten hamlets into what seemed to logical, efficient Dutch administrators to be logical, efficient administrative [628] units. The result is that the hamlets involved not only may have no traditional ties with one another but may even be traditionally antagonistic, while other hamlets of long and continuing association may be separated by perbekelan boundaries. The Perbekel is thus placed in a rather anomalous position for, although his superiors tend to regard him as a "village chief" and expect him to have important traditionally based executive powers, his constituents tend to regard him as a government clerk and consequently not directly concerned with local political processes at all, the direction of which they conceive to lie in the interlocked hands of the temple, hamlet, irrigation society, kin group, and voluntary organization chiefs. The Perbekel is not governing an organic unit, but one which in most cases feels rather little internal solidarity at all and,